2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KIN BEHAVIOR

The Group

571 602 The relationships of the ancient Papago, economic and social, were almost all within the kinship circle. "We love our relatives." "We would do anything for our relatives." "A purified scalp works for you like a relative." "We like to go to feasts *to see our relatives.*" [576 783] Address by the kinship term was the regular greeting, the regular form of applause and the final rite for receiving a neophyte back to daily life after purification. White residents, critical of Papago self-government remark: "A Papago elected to office will consider no one but his relatives."

596 609 Anciently, the only standardized relationships were within the extended family. People outside it should not be chosen as friends because they could not be relied on. Any exchange of gifts made with them should be in the nature of a trade, with full payment immediately and no credit. Even though near neighbors, they remained in an outer sphere unless they were judged desirable connections in a marriage alliance. Then they were investigated, approached and finally drawn within the active circle of kin, to have their share in companionship, service and gift exchange. 602 Within this kin circle, there were no rigid rules. Papago had no avoidances and no joking relationships. The marriage regulations were tempered with economic convenience. The particular group of kin to whom one owed constant duty was not the nearest in blood but the nearest geographically.

361 602 This pragmatic use of a kinship formula was in agreement with the Papago mode of life. Villages were scattered over an immense desert country where travel was difficult, because of the absence of drinking water and a relative removed to another village became almost inaccessible. But relatives close at hand must be a constant reliance. They were the people called on for cooperative labor in house building, ditch digging, planting, harvesting, spinning, arrow making. A family's actual existence might depend on cordial relations with them. "We would do anything for our relatives" had the connotation "And our relatives would do anything for us." The cordial relations were an economic investment

602 Such an investment was rarely made in non-relatives, since they could not be trusted to repay, having their own more intimate obligations. But a relative valued his kin status and would pay,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. 1. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too." 593 562 607

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman." 551 607

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was. 768 607

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also. 431 607 768

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group. 768 602

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited 571

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

57 groups. Degree of kinship may determine economic behavior toward any relative but social behavior depends very much on the sex of the two concerned. A kinship terminology which reflected general behavior would need to note the sex, both of the relative and of the speaker.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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young man, one of the district councilmen, is regarded as chief by the Agency but not by his own people.) Though no regular council meetings are held in these villages, the men meet informally to discuss problems when they arise. It is probably significant that all the three "strong men" of Hickiwan District are medicine men, but how much of their strength is due to fear of their supernatural power is a matter for speculation.

Papago who have disputes to be settled have considerable leeway in bringing their complaints before authority. If a man wishes, he can take his case direct to the tribal court (see chap. vii) rather than to the village chief; or the district councilman, who in some cases is a man of great influence, may be called on for a decision. In one case known to the writer the defendant was not satisfied with the tribal court's decision and so brought the matter to the village chief, then through the district councilman back to the tribal court. There were apparently no negative sanctions in the village against this procedure; a man is free to take his legal problems where he pleases.

However, in all the western villages disagreements are settled locally, and there is no recourse to the tribal council or court. Local quarrels may be noised about the district but not far beyond, as controversies are concealed or glossed over before outsiders. Owing to recent unhappy experiences (see chap. vii), the Reservation police thereafter refused to go to Hickiwan District. The people are well content with this situation, for they are determined to keep the management of their affairs in their own hands.

Throughout the Reservation, matters which require local co-operation and leadership are handled without friction. Leaders, elected or otherwise, are respected by the people because of their position. Their decisions and those of the council are accepted when the people feel that such decisions are based on a thorough knowledge of the recognized way of doing things and are made after discussion and expression of "what all the people think." Papago know that they are free to express disagreement, but usually would rather accept a decision with which they are not entirely in accord than to stand out from the crowd and make "people talk."

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Some present-day Papago villages are in the same locations as they were in Kino's time, and others are offshoots of these old villages, probably dating from the cessation of pressure from the Apache. Ties between the parent-village and those formed from it remain close. People visit back and forth, they co-operate in roundups, and they are sure to attend one another's fiestas, but the degree of interaction is determined by blood ties and proximity.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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621 571 There is also intercourse between unrelated villages. For example, not every settlement has a store, and the most convenient place to buy supplies may not be in a related village. Nowadays there is intervillage political activity chiefly in the eastern districts.

DIALECT GROUPS

197 571 634 Next to the family and village, the most important social entity to a Papago is his dialect group. The nine districts into which the main Reservation was divided in 1935 are political units, and, though they coincide somewhat with the areas occupied by dialect groups, they are still too new and too little a part of the Papago pattern to command loyalty. One's dialect group, on the other hand, is made up of relatives, relatives of relatives, or at least of people having one's own colloquialisms, pronunciation, and traditions. Papago are always interested in talking about the groups and the real and fancied differences between them, many of which are accounted for in ancient legend. But the considerable interchange of teasing indicates deeper cleavage, as each Papago feels his own group to be "the" people.

There are probably six main dialect groups on the Reservation today, plus several mixed groups in areas where main dialect groups adjoin. Certain of these dialect groups may well be the modern descendants of the Piman divisions Father Kino called "tribes" (see chap. ii), which have migrated rather extensively since 1700. It is possible that most of the Sobaípuri and Gileños are now officially the "Pima" who live on the Gila River Reservation to the north. They speak a dialect of the Piman language which is mutually understandable with any of the Papago dialects, but "Pima" is not here considered to be one of them. (Numerous Pima have, however, intermixed with Papago on the extreme northern tip of the Reservation.)

It appears that five of the six Papago dialect groups on the Reservation today are descendants of three other "tribes" mentioned by Kino: the *ḳokololoṭ*[3] from the "Pima proper," the *hauhauwash* from the Soba, and the *totoḳōwany, huʼhuʼuhla,* and *ḳiyʼḳima* from those which were called "Papago" by Kino.

Our knowledge of these origins is speculative; furthermore, we do not have specific information about the dialect groups or their distribution, for so far no study of the dialect geography has been attempted.[4] For instance, the delineation of one of the groups (*ḳiyʼḳima*) is particularly questionable, as is the

3. *Kokololoṭ* is plural, *koloṭ* is the singular. The transcription used here follows as closely as possible the alphabet devised for Papago by Dr. William Kurath, *A Brief Introduction to Papago, a Native Language of Arizona,* pp. 13–14. However, he records no *o* for Papago; where *o* is used here in Papago words, the writer (R. S.) heard it, and future, more careful work will have to determine what should be used.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 7.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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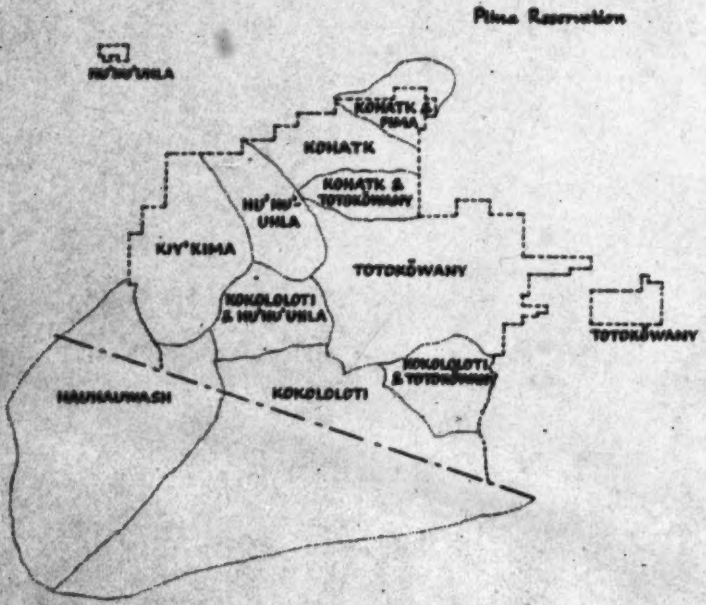
name for another (*hauhauwash*). However, the following discussion of the dialect groups, and Map V, which shows their approximate distribution, are based on material given the authors by Papago, supplemented by data from Underhill[5] and the Agency.[6]

MAP V



Approximate Distribution of Dialect Groups on the Papago Reservations, 1943

In the south-central and southeastern areas of the Reservation are the *kokololoti*, Kino's "Pima proper," who moved north and west from their original home in what is now Mexico. According to one informant, their name means "rattling talk," but others say that the term comes from the Spanish translation (*zecelote*) of the name of one village, Chukut Kuk ("owl hoot"), transliterated by the Papago. The *kokololoti* population is about fifteen hundred.[7] It is likely

5. *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 59–69.
6. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.
7. *Ibid.*

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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that their present distribution is due to their dispersion into smaller settlements from defense villages at the end of the Apache wars.

This was the area of greatest Spanish influence, and some of the people speak Spanish. They learned from the missionized Indians to the south how to raise cattle and horses. They were good horsemen long before the other groups, and to this day it is said that you cannot beat one of them in a horse race. They are also said to be impulsive. The *ḳokololoti* were called on to help Spanish and, later, Mexican and American soldiers in pursuing the Apache and so acquired significant numbers of guns before they were common among the northern people. This early acquisition of livestock and implements, together with more abundant rainfall in parts of the area, has doubtless been at least partly responsible for the higher economic status of this region today. *Ḳokololoti* acculturation began earlier and has continued more steadily than that of other Papago (see chap. ii).

North of the *ḳokololoti* live the *totoḳöwany*, who occupy a large area in the central and eastern part of the main Reservation and all the San Xavier [101] Reservation. This group, estimated at about thirty-two hundred,[8] is perhaps the largest on the Reservation. Underhill claims the name for this group is an opprobrious nickname meaning "loose gee-string," but informants have told the writer that it describes the guttural cast of their speech. These are the "Papago" described by Kino. Of them, Underhill says: "It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie [Achi] and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, seem to have provided the channel. . . .

"The Archie [*totoḳöwany*] group was the furthest from Spanish influence and acculturation has been slower there than in the south. Few of the people speak Spanish and few over forty speak any English. They did not begin to keep cattle until long after the southerners. . . . They retain many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere."[9]

Other Papago consider the *totoḳöwany* cautious and respect them for their skill as medicine men and runners, skills which were greatly valued in the old culture. Although they pride themselves on conserving the old ways, the *totoḳöwany* are not the stiff-necked intransigeants of the Reservation.

The title might properly be bestowed upon two other groups, the *ḳiy'ḳima* and the *hu'hu'uhla*, both of which are located in the northwestern corner of the Reservation, the *ḳiy'ḳima* farther west and south than the *hu'hu'uhla*. *Hu'hu'-*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 59–60.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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uhla also live on the Gila Bend Reservation. These two groups have heretofore been considered as one, and even various leading eastern Papago do not agree as to whether or not they should be differentiated. However, those who live in the area concerned informed one of the authors that there are two groups, though intermarriage has carried members of one group into the other.

These two groups together number about nine hundred[10] and are probably also part of the people whom Kino called "Papago." The word *kiy'kima* means "stuck-up" or "show-off" and is applied to these people because they are said to use the word frequently.[11] Their idiom is reported to be like that of the *totokŏwany* but spoken faster. According to Underhill, "Huhuhra means grandmother's children, i.e., orphans, and was bestowed on the people of Kaka, one village of the group, because they had no well and wandered about sharing those of other village units."[12] This author, who does not differentiate the two groups, says that the dialect contains many incomprehensible words, presumably ancient. She further says: "The legend is that these people did not 'come up from the underground' but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie [*totokŏwany*] people."[13]

Eastern Papago look on both groups as being backward, slow, and conservative. In keeping with this conservatism, they have been the center of resistance to government policy in recent years, opposing or ignoring many Agency proposals, and such recent requirements as registration for Selective Service. Many of them go to work in the mines at Ajo, but they remain insistently of and for their own groups.

The other western dialect group, which some western Papago call *hauhauwash*, numbers about four hundred people;[14] they live in the area around Menager's Dam, which was added to the southwestern corner of the Reservation in 1938. Most of this group still live west and south of the Reservation, and some only recently migrated to the Menager's Dam region. These people (probably Kino's "Soba") are known variously today as *hauhauwash*, Sand Papago, Sonoita Papago, *awatokam au'autam* ("Sand Dune People"), and *so'obakam au'autam* ("Soba Tree People").

Another small group—of about three hundred people[15]—is the *kohatk*, who occupy the area north of *hu'hu'uhla* and *totokŏwany*, centering around the village of Kohatk. Their dialect is very similar to Pima, and the two peoples

10. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

11. However, A. W. Jones, who has made a study of the dialect groups, says that *kikima* is a term used of any dialect group to which the speaker does not belong.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 65. 13. *Ibid.*

14. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

15. *Ibid.*

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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have common cultural traits. As most of the *ḳohatḳ* group were under jurisdiction of the Pima Agency for some time before the establishment of the Papago Reservation, many have intermixed with Pima. Some people call them "Pima copycats." Traditionally the *ḳohatḳ* were the best fighters in Papaguería, and they are known today as "show-offs." Underhill has this to say of them: "*Kuhatḳ*, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the Spaniards *Quajote*.... It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The Bitter Man at Kuhatk was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

[101]

"Archie legend says that the kuhatk people moved to get better land and thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close communication with the Pima when Kino found them.... Though they may have once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima, kuhatk and Archie form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later distinctions have been arbitrary."[16]

Intermingling of two dialect groups where their territories meet is now pretty generally recognized, and these mixed groups may even have their own names. In part of Pisin Mo District, *ḳiy'ḳima* and *ḳokololoti* have mingled. Some of the *ḳohatḳ* have mingled with the Pima to the north. On the other hand, Anegam, because it remained part of the Papago Reservation while other *ḳohatḳ* villages were under the Pima, was ceremonially connected for a long time with the near-by *totoḳöwany* villages of Achi and Gu Achi, but shared a well with the *hu'hu'uhla* and maintained other contacts with them. Now the people of the Anegam area are beginning to be recognized as a subdialect group. Sells, the Agency town, is a conglomeration of people from many parts of the Reservation; here another subdialect may arise.

What is happening in Baboquivari District may be indicative of the trend on the Reservation. Here two of the largest dialects, *ḳokololoti* and *totoḳöwany*, have mixed. The older people still know which dialect they speak, but the distinction is not so clear with the children; so a subdialect seems to be arising. A further mixture is resulting from intermarriage with noncontiguous groups. A man's father might be *totoḳöwany*, his mother *ḳokololoti*, and his maternal grandmother *hu'hu'uhla*. With the present-day ease of transportation, and with young Papago meeting off the Reservation in places where they work, intermarriage is likely to increase. In time, language differences may slowly disappear, or at least take on a new face. Since many Papago leaders and also the interpreters, who come from the mixed *totoḳöwany-ḳokololoti*

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63–64.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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villages, travel widely over the Reservation, it is possible that the prestige they carry will eventually make their subdialect the language for the whole Reservation. 197 571 634

However, there is still a strong in-group feeling. Villages of the same dialect are likely to line up together on social and political questions, and there is much good-natured banter about the supposed superiority of each group. Also, outside influences have left and are leaving impressions of varying depth and extension upon the different groups. Since these influences have come from different national groups (Spanish, Mexican, American) and still come from different classes among the various nationals (priests, missionaries, teachers, ranchers, miners, and government employees), it is likely that at least the difference between dialect groups which result from differing outside influences will remain for some time. 186 197 571 634

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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883 494 As previously mentioned, boys are free to go to other villages when their help is not needed at home. Girls' trips to school on the bus are exceptions to the rule of constant female chaperonage. Sometimes school children get off the bus in another village to visit overnight in the home of relatives; mothers occasionally complain that their daughters stop in other villages rather than come home to help with the work. However, there is no worry concerning their safety, for the bus-driver brings word of their whereabouts, and they are assured a welcome in the home of any relative. Adolescents not in school use the bus to reach relatives in time of sickness, to help with the harvest, or just to visit.

883 756 A young Papago rarely loses his faith in the medicine man, though it may be dormant during any time he spends in boarding school. However, the adolescents begin to realize that there are some sicknesses with which the white doctor can cope more adequately than the medicine man. But the youth makes an ill-defined distinction between white men's diseases and Indian diseases, and he sometimes asks why animals do not seem to make white people sick. So he is often confused as to what to do when illness strikes and perhaps tries several courses to be on the safe side: he may take medicine prescribed by the white nurse in the morning, ask for a half-native rosary service in the afternoon, and have the medicine men in to sing and communicate with the spirits at night.

883 430 563 571 On the Reservation the Papago youth has little more contact with whites than he did as a youngster. Tourists have never swarmed to Papago villages as they do to the pueblos, for the Desert People are not romantic in appearance, and their principal extant ceremonies are not open to public view.[2] Buyers of cattle and baskets come, but they do not stay long. Older boys, who often herd the stock while their elders deal with cattle-buyers, have little to do with the buyers, but they learn what prices to expect and how to bargain.

882 563 571 Whites who live on the Reservation—traders, occasional miners, a few missionaries, and government employees—are familiar figures to the youth of districts in which they live or visit often. Adolescents' contacts with these persons are almost entirely impersonal, and few youths make any effort to change this situation. Some exceptional adolescents will talk readily with whites and are willing to act as interpreters, but in both eastern and western districts teen-age boys and girls are likely to face whites with a rather blank expression and would prefer to watch them unseen. When addressed by a strange white, the young Papago usually replies with "Yes," "No," or "I don't know." Often the brevity of the answer is due as much to difficulty of understanding or fear

2. However, many tourists come to see the old mission on San Xavier Reservation.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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of making a ridiculous reply as it is to reserve. The youth will explain to another Papago that he knew what the white was saying, but, unsure of his ability to answer in good English, he just kept quiet.

As a rule, resident whites treat the Indians with friendliness strongly tinged with caution.[3] They respect the Papago and perhaps like certain individuals, but they know that Indians are sensitive in ways unpredictable to whites. The Papago largely reciprocate these attitudes. With rare exceptions, neither group seeks association with the other outside of business hours. The Indians admit that the white man has a peculiar magic which results in economic wealth, and this they frankly covet. But few would care to live with whites or even in their manner. To them, the Desert People remain "the people."

All teen-age Papago make more frequent trips off the Reservation than do their younger brothers and sisters. Boys go whenever they can be spared at home and can find means of transportation; girls are equally interested but must wait on the convenience of some man of the family. A young person of a western district probably has at least one relative who works in the mine at Ajo and lives there with his family; visits to these relatives are great occasions. The relatives in town live in frame houses or in shacks pieced together out of scrap iron, but even the poorest dwellings are likely to have more furnishings than western Reservation homes. Curtains, bedspreads, and tablecloths are in ordinary use, and all cooking is done indoors. With more leisure and cash, town dwellers go to the movies and buy store food, good clothes, and bootleg liquor. These are momentous matters for the Reservation youngsters, and they are quick to imitate their town kinfolk. Girls readily adopt the town styles of dress, but boys can always be recognized as Reservation Indians by their Stetson hats, Levis, and cowboy boots. Clothing, amusements, and the easier living are powerful incentives for young Papago to go and do likewise, i.e., get a job in town.

A great many youth have been accustomed from childhood to going with their families to work in the cotton fields, but late adolescence bring opportunities for work away from home. Older girls who have more than a smattering of English can get jobs as housemaids in Tucson or Phoenix, and many young girls look forward to this opportunity to live independently for a little while before marriage. A wider variety of work is open to boys. With the increased demand for labor during the war, some Baboquivari lads of sixteen to eighteen left the Reservation for several weeks or months to work on railroads or ranches. Since the Papago are known as good workers, they can

3. This paragraph is drawn largely from Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation in the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter XVIII

PAPAGO SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

157 WHAT are the interpersonal relations of such personalities as we have seen in the previous chapters? Do Papago children develop close emotional ties with specific persons, and to whom are their strongest loyalties directed by training and experience? Some answers to these questions are furnished by the Thematic Apperception, the Emotional Response, and the Moral Ideology tests, which reveal the children's reactions largely within a social setting.

The interpretative statement derived from the results of the Thematic Apperception Test—"the interpersonal contacts are organized on an individualistic basis, and few social cohesions and socially demanded group loyalties exist"[1]—seems to agree very well with what we know of Papago children. But, before we can fully understand its meaning and significance, we will need further explanations and a careful analysis of the attitudes of the children toward various persons in their social environment.

157 571 Answers to the Emotional Response Test show that members of the family, particularly parents, play by far the most conspicuous role in experiences of happiness and the "best thing." The unpleasant emotions of fear, anger, and shame are more prevalently connected with people outside the family group, chiefly represented by the undefined "somebody," "people," or "they."

There is considerable difference between the attitudes of boys and girls, although they named similar emotional experiences (see Table 14.). The boys connect pleasant experiences, as far as the family is concerned, almost exclusively with the father, and they mention nonrelatives quite often. In contrast, the girls associate most of their pleasant emotions with the mother, but they do not concentrate so strongly on her as the boys do on the father. They derive a good deal of pleasure from other members of the family, including the grandparents, the father, and particularly their sisters and brothers. Among

1. William E. Henry, "Notes on Papago Cultural Analysis from Thematic Apperception Test Material" (MS), p. 5.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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nonrelatives, only their age mates play a role, and, on the whole, girls appear more dependent upon the family than boys.

Regarding unpleasant experiences, the difference in reaction between boys and girls is very slight (see Table 15). The parents cause scarcely any negative

TABLE 14

PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND "BEST THING" BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	PAPAGO			WHITE		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	46	72	59	69	76	74
Father	34	8	21	10	9	10
Mother	4	28	16	15	14	15
Siblings	8	20	14	17	23	20
Age mates	23	24	24	17	18	18
"People"	19	4	12	3	4	4
Teacher	..	..	..	11	2	7

* Data in Tables 14–16 from Robert J. Havighurst, "A Comparison of American Indian Children and White Children by Means of the Emotional Response Test" (M5).

TABLE 15

PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH FEAR, ANGER, AND SHAME BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	PAPAGO			WHITE		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	30	23	27	38	63	52
Father	3	1	2	4	7	6
Mother	3	7	5	13	21	17
Siblings	14	11	13	13	24	19
Age mates	17	18	18	29	14	22
"People"	30	34	32	24	18	21
Teacher	2	3	3	8	6	7
Drunkards	4	9	7	1	3	2

* For source data see Table 14.

feelings. This type of feeling within the family is mainly directed by boys toward their brothers and by girls toward their sisters. In general, whenever Papago children mention specific persons, whether relatives or nonrelatives, they tend to associate them more with positive, pleasure-producing emotions than with negative ones.

Among persons mentioned in connection with frightening experiences, drunken men play an important role, particularly in the minds of girls (see Tables 15 and 16).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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The persons whom the children name in the Moral Ideology Test as praisers or blamers are obviously their usual disciplinarians. This function, too, is fulfilled mainly by the family, leaving little room for disciplinary interference by other people (see Table 17). The boys are inclined to look upon the father as

TABLE 16

PRINCIPAL PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH FEAR BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	Papago			White		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	40	14	28	42	71	59
Father	6	..	3	6	9	8
Mother	6	7	7	11	24	18
Siblings	11	..	6	11	23	18
Age mates	..	..	..	32	9	21
"People"	11	14	13	17	12	15
Teacher	6	7	7	6	3	5
Drunkards	11	36	24	3	9	6

* For source data see Table 14.

TABLE 17

PERSONS NAMED AS CHIEF DISCIPLINARIANS BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	Papago			White		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	71	74	73	47	43	45
Father	24	15	19	7	3	5
Mother	20	40	30	15	15	15
Grandparents	5	4	4	..	..	..
Age mates	5	6	5	10	8	9
"Everybody"	9	8	8	12	15	14
Teacher	3	5	4	14	18	16

* Data in Tables 17 and 18 from Robert J. Havighurst, "Comparison of Indian Children and White Children by Means of the Moral Ideology Test" (MS).

judge of their behavior, the girls far more upon the mother; but parents play a greater role as disciplinarians for girls than for boys, who apparently receive a good deal of attention from other family members.

To the boys, the father seems to praise and blame equally, while the girls consider him more frequently as a blamer. However, the mother is seen by boys and girls alike, chiefly as a rewarding agent. Persons not clearly belonging to the family group, i.e., elders, age mates, or just "everybody," are all mentioned, by boys as well as by girls, more often as blamers.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PAPAGO SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

While the number of persons mentioned in answers to the Emotional Response Test was too small to analyze the results for differences between western and eastern communities, this could safely be done with regard to the disciplinarians named in the Moral Ideology Test. The most important difference between the two districts lies in the much greater attention paid the family by western children, who indeed seem to reserve the right of approval and disapproval almost exclusively to their parents and grandparents (see Table 18). Reward and blame are more evenly distributed than in the East; the father's role as a disciplinarian, particularly as restrictive agent, appears rather strong—even to the girls—and, though grandparents and the mother are mentioned more often as praisers, they, too, are often noted as blamers.

TABLE 18

PERSONS NAMED AS CHIEF DISCIPLINARIANS BY PAPAGO BOYS AND GIRLS OF TWO AREAS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	Western Papago			Eastern Papago		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	80	84	82	65	67	66
Father	35	21	28	20	10	15
Mother	30	38	34	13	44	28
Grandparents	5	9	7	5	..	3
Age mates	4	4	4	6	7	7
"Everybody"	4	6	5	14	9	11
Teacher	..	..	..	4	9	6

* For source of data see Table 17.

In the East the father and the grandparents seem to have lost much of their importance as disciplinarians for both boys and girls. Their place, particularly as blamers, has apparently been taken by age mates, by the undefined group of "everybody," and by the teacher. This move away from the family is less evident in eastern girls, who show even more regard for the reassuring, approving role of the mother than western girls. But eastern boys reveal clearly a trend toward detachment from the family, since for them both parents have lost much of their influence. On the whole the impression is that in the East the restrictive functions of the family have been comparatively lessened, while those of assurance and reward have been preserved to some extent.

The results of these two tests confirm the tentative conclusions advanced in previous chapters in which the psychological effects of Papago social organization, child-training, and outlook on life were analyzed. The reader will recall that several times—in discussions of the role of the supernatural, cooperative work, and common disciplinary experiences—it was inferred that

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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The Thematic Apperception Test, too, reveals similar signs of interpersonal disturbances. The interpretation of its results, without differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls, states that the establishment of a functional relationship between brothers and sisters may be a point of conflict.[3] But this conflict seems to be only temporary and apparently does not hamper adult adjustment.

Papago boys, who have more opportunity for activities and personal contacts outside the family than their sisters, more frequently mention nonrelatives in connection with happy experiences than do the girls, who connect most such experiences with members of the family, their usual companions.

Very little was learned from the tests about the emotional relationship between boys and girls outside the family. The Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception tests reveal on the average only slight sexual anxiety in adolescent children. In the Emotional Response Test, age mates of opposite sex were not mentioned once in connection with pleasant memories, though there was some mention of them when unpleasant occasions were recalled. Boys and girls, but particularly the former, acknowledged being ashamed (i.e., embarrassed) in front of the other sex, and a few boys admitted getting angry at girls. But this is all we learn.

So far as observations and reports indicate, Papago marriages are normally stable. Fidelity of husband and wife seems to be quietly assumed. Courtship and the selection of partners as they take place at present are little restrained by family authority, except in cases of close relatives, as of first cousins, in which event the match is condemned or at least considered undesirable. Romantic love, however, is not one of the important concepts and values in Papago culture. The emotional value of the relationship between man and woman seems to be viewed almost entirely from the aspect of their adjustment to the Papago ideal of family unity: husband and wife are considered enviably happy if they have many living and healthy children, if they are industrious, and if they co-operate peacefully and harmoniously with each other and with the rest of the family. Mutual loyal attachment apparently is conceived and officially sanctioned as growing out of just this active participation in and adjustment to the physical and spiritual needs of the family group and not as developing from the perpetuation of two people's passion. A marriage based mainly upon these values is likely to remain stable and relatively undisturbed, even when there are extramarital sex relations.

Boys' premarital love affairs are considered natural and may be an occasion for joking and teasing on the part of adult relatives; but, if the affair appears

3. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

157 836 to be a prelude to marriage, it may concern parents if the partners are unsuitable. For girls to have casual affairs before marriage is not the ideal pattern, but it is not deemed a bar to honorable marriage later on. As an *emotional* condition, a love affair has no cultural value. It is not a situation to be admired or condemned, to talk or make songs about, but a private affair of the lovers with a generally acknowledged value only if it is incorporated into a family group.

157 571 How far the whole complex of Papago magical thinking, of fears of the supernatural, and of the corresponding trend to retire into dreamlike seclusion may constitute a cultural reaction to specific difficulties in interpersonal relations cannot be inferred from the results of the tests. No general and clearly directed hostilities have come to light in the answers obtained from Papago children, except the rather mild conflicts between siblings of the same sex. Considering the slight formalization of the magico-supernatural complex, which at the individual's will may or may not be evoked for the instant's need, it seems likely to be at once the reaction of man to the numerous threats and dangers found in this particular desert life and to individually varying tensions arising from close and necessarily family-bound interpersonal contacts. Only a careful exploration of the numerous symbols and manifestations of the supernatural and their interpretation by the Papago themselves, as well as a psychological study done with the same objective, could give us a clear answer. Such methods might reveal, for instance, the psychological significance of the old Papago custom (which is still practiced in some families) of strictly segregating girls and women during the menstrual period because of their alleged power of evil and destruction at that time. With our present limited knowledge, we cannot say how far this custom is an integral part of the ancient magical fear of death and blood and how far it may, for instance, have developed as a social device for the psychological management of women and for the conservation of men's working and fighting strength through periodic sexual restrictions. It can, however, be noted from the Emotional Response Test that present-day Papago boys do not connect frightening experiences with girls, be they sisters or age mates.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

few houses near it and naming their rancheria from the tall chimney. Five miles north is a rancheria called Sikulhímat ("where the water goes around." *Sikul*, round). Here, according to the Indians, the drainage of rain water flows toward the Gila River; south of that place it flows toward Mexico.

Horseshoe is the name of a once noted placer mine, the surface of which has been worked out. There are gold mines of a similar nature around the southern end of the Quijotoa Range. Judge Day has a store at Horseshoe and buys gold from the Indians, who still, during the winter, keep up the "dry-washing" process here, using for the purpose the machines that are common to the neighboring district of Altar, in Sonora. The Indians are even able to make the machines themselves. Judge Day is a man of intelligence and much common-sense, and, having lived here since 1893, was able to give reliable information about matters pertaining to the region. According to him the padres from San Xavier Mission, two hundred years ago, found the placer mines of Quijotoa. He showed me some nice nuggets of small sizes which he had lately bought. Five years ago the Indians found free gold in a piece of quartz which was worth one thousand six hundred dollars. After that eighty Papago and a few Yaqui Indians worked here for half a year, taking out in value between ten thousand and twelve thousand dollars, Judge Day buying most of the gold. The relations between the miners—all Indians—were cordial. When any of them had found a rich spot, he would tell it to the others, and next morn-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

316 ing the crowd would begin to work as near him as pos-
● 571 sible. No ill feeling or fights ensued; they would each
earn from four to five dollars a day. The miners when
515 coming home would always wash after changing their
clothes. Considering the trouble of getting water at the
only well, their cleanliness may be considered an example
even to whites. The women are particularly cleanly,
and wash their own clothes frequently as well as those
of their husbands.

181 Judge Day and his family, who have been living
577 here among the Indians for so long a time, gave very
good reports of their neighbors. He had spent twenty-
two years among Indians, and considered the Papago the
safest. "As a rule, they are honest," he said, "though
there are scalawags among them, but these are discred-
ited by their own race. The women will steal trifles,
picking up a rope or the like, but the men will sel-
dom do that. The store often gives an Indian twenty
dollars on credit, and he will apologize if he does not
pay in ninety days. These Indians, like the Mexicans,
are pleased to be in debt, because they consider it an
honor to be trusted. If the average native *says* he will
pay his debt, he will do so."

854 Like all Indians, the Papagoes are kind to their
children, the father no less than the mother. An In-
dian couple were purchasing some articles in the store
while I was present; their strong and fat infant was
crying continuously in its mother's arms, she trying
vainly to stop its wails. Finally, I saw her, with a few
words, hand the babe to her husband, a boyish, good-

[62] [20] on the reservation. Indian residents of Selle on the whole, seem to be well aware of events occurring beyond the borders of the reservation.

Surprisingly, there is no real community organi- [166] zation. This is probably due to the cosmopolitan nature of Selle with residents having moved there from all parts [571] of the reservation. The organizations which do exist revolve around voluntary associations, churches and cliques.

Residents of Selle have garden plots and some are [434] [463] cattle growers, but their main source of income is from salar- [464] ies and wages, with the majority working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Papago Tribe.

Santa Rosa is not as large as Selle, nor does it [368] have many of its characteristics. There is a community building, a government school, a government health center, a church, and a trading post with gasoline pumps. The community building is used for meetings which are held to plan ceremonies and various village projects. There [575] are also many voluntary associations, all patterned after similar Anglo associations, such as a Woman's Club, an Athletic Club, and a Boy Scout troop.

[634] The Gu Achi District Council meets in the commun- [178] ity building and all political activity of the district is centered here. Santa Rosa, however, in spite of progressive tendencies, contains some of the most traditional elements of Papago culture found on the Reservation.

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
361 not realize they have a community of interest in keeping
364 their camp clean--there is no organized social sanction in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

364 The Desert People are extremely careful around their
464 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of
626 the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be litter-
[35] ed with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So administrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units with residents of a reserve town scattering to several labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction in Papago community life, the fear of being talked about,[1] loses its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other races does not produce action by the Desert People that talk in their home community would. The same is true of other people in labor camps--being talked about by members of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanction to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
• 571 one racial origin are studies in social disorganization
626 resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls,
178 resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling, women going to work from different cabins each morning, etc.

364 Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.

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[596]

Again the key to the puzzle lies in lack of social sanctions in the Papago group in the camp. The Desert People come from several hamlets on their reserves to any camp, usually. There is no community leader nor community sanctions to motivate them. The "chief" turns out to be merely the patriarch leading one large extended family. Among this group of his own kin, he receives considerable respect, but carries less authority than many Anglo patriarchs. Among unrelated families, even those from his own village, he has none. This camp operators do not realize, having assumed that a Papago patriarch conforms to their concept of an Indian chief. (This mistake has been made repeatedly in U. S. history by Anglos who insisted upon projecting the concept of "chief" derived from Anglo-Saxon protohistory into American Indian society where it was not and is not true.)

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The heterogeneous group of Papagos in a camp no more constitute a socially integrated group with recognized and effective social sanctions than the racially heterogeneous residents of a miscellaneous camp. While they do not like being talked about by other Desert People, they do not act to forestall such talk as they would to keep their relatives and neighbors at home from talking. So camp grounds accumulate trash.

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In labor camps the Desert People are also away from home in mental attitude as much as in physical being. They feel themselves in a white man's world, where they should act as white men--and they see an example of uncleanly whites in labor camps as a pattern. They cannot act better than they are taught. They cannot act according to standards in the minds of cotton growers or city newspaper reporters which are invisible--they can learn only what they can copy from sight. This fact explains why what social scientists call "acculturation" (adjustment of people of one culture to habits of another) takes place when people meet face to face. An example from history illustrates clearly. The Papago word for "cat" is copied from the old Spanish cat call rather than the Spanish name-word because the Indians saw and heard Spaniards calling their cats, and could associate call and animal. They could not learn the Spanish name for cats, which was invisible and silent in the minds of the Spaniards.

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591 Purely social reasons are behind the journeys of many of the Desert People to labor camps. "I came just because the others from my village did," is one typical reason. Probably most such individuals have the same economic compulsions as the others, but come to work because it is the thing to do. Others economically more secure with larger fields or herds than most may come for that reason only: to be with the group.

594 Then there are frequent casual visitors to labor camps. Relatives come for a while just to visit, perhaps because they have married into another village.

461 It must be remembered that the concept of the economic man is seldom true in life. While the Desert People come very close to that concept on the whole in their incentives for working for wages, they are still human beings with many uneconomic thoughts and desires which they carry out without regard to dollars and cents. Actually, these basic economic reasons for Papagos laboring are not uppermost in Papago consciousness when cash is in demand. What they think of is the immediate occasion when money is needed.

466 reliable but they're more trouble--you have to take
484 them to town, to the store, and you have to look after them more than the others.

197 The Desert People working in the cotton harvest
591 meet farmers and other laborers under very special
432 conditions in labor camps and fields. But for a few
439 hours in the week they come into contact with a much
273 wider range of Anglo-American culture in trading centers where they shop. They enter into the buyer-seller relationship prevalent in our society, in stores of many kinds. They go to movies. They sit by trucks that haul them to town and watch the colorful harvest season crowds. They seek sympathetic or predatory men to buy liquor for them, since legally they cannot purchase it themselves. Then, they drink it as fast as possible so they won't loose the poor quality liquor they've been overcharged for if they're arrested. As a result they generally become staggering drunk and are arrested, contributing both cash and labor to the city governments of trading towns--and giving their tribe a black eye. Their few hours in town on Saturday afternoon make a deep impression upon the observant Desert People.

484 In Pima county, large-city Tucson is shopping day
439 goal for Papagos. They take a bus into the city about
[494] once a month.[1] These are the shopping trips remembered by the Desert People, for in talking about their shopping, they didn't bother to mention more frequent trips to stores in Sahuarita or Marana where the center of town is no more than a general store or two and a garage.

In Pinal county the Desert People usually shop in the trading center nearest the labor camp where they live. The main shopping towns are Casa Grande, Eloy, Picacho, and Stanfield and Maricopa. The first three are towns of about 4,000 inhabitants. The others are "wide places in the road." To some extent Papagos go there, or to country stores at Friendly Corners, El Centro, etc., most of the time, looking forward to a trip to one of the towns every couple of weeks or once a month. The Indians go to one of the business centers Saturday afternoon, usually for 3 hours or more.[2]

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[1] 6 individuals giving information averaged 25.2 days between shopping days in Tucson.
[2] 18 Papagos giving information went to town every 7.4 days on the average.